

DIA/OCI/BRIEF 198-75

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010100-8

29 DECEMBER 1975

SECRET/NFD

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198-75



Brief 198-75

Secret

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 198-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: THE EXTENSION OF THE WAGE FREEZE ANNOUNCED BY THE PORTUGUESE CABINET ON WEDNESDAY IS ONLY AN ECONOMIC HOLDING ACTION, BUT IT WILL MAKE LABOR MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO COMMUNIST EXPLOITATION. NON-COMMUNIST FORCES, HOWEVER, HAVE HAD SOME SUCCESS IN WEAKENING THE COMMUNISTS' GRIP ON THE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT.4

THE CABINET EXTENDED THROUGH FEBRUARY THE SUSPENSION OF LABOR CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS THAT WAS IMPOSED AFTER THE NOVEMBER 25 MILITARY UPRISING WAS SQUASHED. THE SUSPENSION EFFECTIVELY FREEZES WAGE RATES PENDING DEVELOPMENT OF MORE SOPHISTICATED CONTROLS. WAGE CONTROLS ARE NEEDED TO HELP PRIVATELY OWNED AND NATIONALIZED FIRMS OVERCOME SERIOUS FINANCIAL PROBLEMS THAT STEM IN LARGE PART FROM THE EARLIER GOVERNMENT POLICY OF HOLDING DOWN PRICES WHILE PERMITTING WAGE HIKES AND FORBIDDING WORKER DISMISSALS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT, HOWEVER, ANNOUNCED THE STIFF INCOMES POLICY OR PRICE INCREASES THAT MANY HAVE EXPECTED.4

2 THE SOLE COMMUNIST IN THE CABINET HAS BEEN LESS VOCAL THAN THE POPULAR DEMOCRATS, BUT REPORTEDLY HAS REQUESTED THAT THE

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OUTGOING MESSAGE

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OUTGOING MESSAGE

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CLASSIFICATION

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MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

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BUT MORE TIME TO PUT PORTUGAL'S INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS IN ORDER.

THE PORTUGUESE HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATING FOR SOME TIME FOR DRAWING RIGHTS UNDER THE IMF'S OIL FACILITY. TALKS BOGGED DOWN WHEN THE PORTUGUESE REFUSED TO AGREE TO SOME IMF TERMS, INCLUDING A DEVALUATION OF THE ESCUDO. DETAILS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ARE NOT YET AVAILABLE.

ZENHA, A SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER, CITED THE ARRANGEMENT AS PROOF THAT GREATER POLITICAL STABILITY SINCE THE NOVEMBER 25 UPRISING IS OPENING THE DOOR TO INCREASED OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE. HE BLAMED THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE ECONOMY OVER THE PAST 20 MONTHS ON THE COMMUNISTS. AZEVEDO TOOK THE SAME LINE IN HIS CHRISTMAS MESSAGE, PREDICTING ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT IF POLITICAL STABILITY CONTINUES. HE CLAIMED TO SEE SOME FAINT SIGNS ALREADY OF AN ECONOMIC UPSWING. HE REFUSED TO WISH THE PEOPLE A PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR, HOWEVER, SAYING THAT WOULD BE NOTHING BUT DEMAGOGUERY SINCE "ONLY A MIRACLE COULD MAKE IT SO." {CONFIDENTIAL}

2. SPAIN: THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN SOME DISCREET STEPS DURING THE PAST WEEK IN THE APPARENT HOPE OF ENCOURAGING THE LESS RADICAL

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RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICER

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SOCIALIST LEADERS AND ISOLATING THE COMMUNISTS.4

MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR MANUEL FRAGA IRIBARNE MET WITH THE LEADER OF THE POPULAR SOCIALIST PARTY, TIerno GALVAN-A MOVE WITHOUT PRECEDENT UNDER FRANCO. ALTHOUGH THE POPULAR SOCIALISTS ARE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST-COMINATED DEMOCRATIC JUNTA, TIerno GALVAN HAS ANGERED THE COMMUNISTS BY REFUSING TO CONDEMN KING JUAN CARLOS OUT OF HAND. TIerno GALVAN REPORTEDLY FOUND FRAGA "RECEPTIVE" AND SAID IN A SUBSEQUENT PRESS INTERVIEW THAT HE BELIEVED THE GOVERNMENT WAS MOVING IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION, ALTHOUGH HE NOTED THAT ITS PROMISES HAVE YET TO BE TRANSLATED INTO DEEDS.4

FOR HIS PART, FRAGA SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE A UNITED SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION FORMED FROM THE VARIOUS FACTIONS THAT DO NOT BELONG TO THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-THE LARGEST SOCIALIST GROUP. HE SAID THAT THE MAIN PURPOSE OF HIS MEETING WITH TIerno GALVAN HAD BEEN TO ENCOURAGE SUCH A COALITION AND TO WEAN THE SOCIALIST LEADER AWAY FROM THE COMMUNISTS.4

FRAGA WAS NOT TOALLY UNSUCCESSFUL. SOON AFTER THE TWO

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LEADERS' MEETING, TIerno GALVAN ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF A SOCIALIST CONFEDERATION TO INCLUDE HIS OWN POPULAR SOCIALISTS AND VARIOUS REGIONAL SOCIALIST PARTIES AFFILIATED WITH THE DEMOCRATIC JUNTA. THE PARTICIPATING GROUPS ARE REPORTEDLY OPPOSED TO THE YOUNGER AND MORE RADICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, WHICH THEY FEAR IS INCREASINGLY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNIST LEADER SANTIAGO CARRILLO.4

THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO GRANT AN AMNESTY TO EXILED SOCIALIST LEADER RODOLFO LLOPIS MAY BE A FURTHER INDICATION OF GOVERNMENT PLANNING TO UNDERCUT THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. LLOPIS SAYS HIS GROUP REPRESENTS THE TRADITIONAL RIGHT WING OF THE SOCIALISTS, AND HE ADAMANTLY OPPOSES COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS. HE REPORTEDLY WILL RETURN TO SPAIN IN JANUARY, WHEN HE MAY TRY TO REVIVE HIS OLD ALLIANCE WITH TIerno GALVAN.4

4 THE SOCIALIST FACTIONS WILL FIND IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO
 3 RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES AND COMPETE WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS
 2 PARTY, THE MAJOR NON-COMMUNIST FORCE ON THE SPANISH LEFT AND THE
 ONLY SPANISH PARTY RECOGNIZED BY THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. THE

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LEADER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, FELIPE GONZALES, RECENTLY TRAVELED TO WEST GERMANY AND SWEDEN TO STRENGTHEN HIS CONTACTS THERE. {CONFIDENTIAL}Y

3. PORTUGAL: NON-COMMUNIST FORCES IN PORTUGAL, FIRMLY IN CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT SINCE THE UPRISING BY LEFTIST PARATROOPERS ON NOVEMBER 25, ARE TRYING HARD TO END THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S DOMINANT POSITION IN ORGANIZED LABOR.Y

THE COMMUNISTS HAVE DOMINATED LABOR-MAINLY AS A RESULT OF ADROIT MANEUVERING RATHER THAN POPULAR APPEAL SINCE SHORTLY AFTER THE CAETANO REGIME WAS OUSTED IN APRIL 1974. THE PARTY HAD BEEN THE ONLY OPPOSITION POLITICAL GROUP TO MAINTAIN AN EFFECTIVE UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION DURING NEARLY 50 YEARS OF RIGHTIST DICTATORSHIP. AFTER APRIL 1974, THE COMMUNISTS WERE ABLE TO TAKE OVER THE STATE'S LABOR MACHINE AND REPLACE THE GOVERNMENT HACKS IN IT WITH YOUNG PRO-COMMUNIST WORKERS.Y

3 THE COMMUNISTS MOVED TO FORMALIZE THEIR PREEMINENT POSITION
 2 WHEN THE OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES BEGAN TO COMPETE WITH THEM IN
 1 INDIVIDUAL UNIONS. THE COMMUNISTS STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE UNITARY

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LABOR LAW PROMULGATED IN APRIL 1975 AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF HEATED DEBATE. UNDER THE LAW, A SINGLE LABOR CONFEDERATION-THE INTERSINDICAL-IS GIVEN THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO AFFILIATE WITH INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.4

EVEN THOUGH THE SOCIALISTS AND OTHER NON-COMMUNISTS COULD NOT BLOCK THIS LEGISLATION, THEY DID MANAGE TO SECURE THE ADOPTION OF SEVERAL PROVISIONS TO LESSEN ITS IMPACT-INCLUDING FREEDOM FOR UNIONS NOT TO JOIN THE CONFEDERATION AND A REQUIREMENT THAT SECRET BALLOTS BE USED IN ELECTIONS FOR UNION LEADERSHIP. THESE PROVISIONS, COUPLED WITH THE NON-COMMUNISTS' VICTORY IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION IN APRIL 1975, ENABLED THE NON-COMMUNISTS TO PICK UP SUPPORT FROM MANY UNIONS.4

IN SEVERAL UNION ELECTIONS THE SOCIALISTS JOINED FORCES WITH THE FAR-LEFTIST, ANTI-COMMUNIST REORGANIZING MOVEMENT OF THE 4PROLETARIAT PARTY AND GAINED CONTROL OF MOST WHITE COLLAR UNIONS. 3THE COMMUNISTS RETAIN THE ADVANTAGE AMONG BLUE COLLAR WORKERS, 2PARTICULARLY IN THE LISBON INDUSTRIAL AREA.4

ALTHOUGH IT HAS SUFFERED SETBACKS IN RECENT MONTHS, THE

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COMMUNIST PARTY STILL HAS ENOUGH STRENGTH WITH LABOR TO MAKE TROUBLE FOR A GOVERNMENT THAT IS FIGHTING TO STAVE OFF ECONOMIC COLLAPSE. FED ON COMMUNIST SLOGANS SINCE APRIL 1974, PORTUGUESE WORKERS HAVE COME TO EXPECT MORE PAY FOR LESS WORK.4

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS BELIEVE THAT IF FOREIGN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS NOT RECEIVED SOON, THE SEVERE ECONOMIC RESTRICTIONS THEY WILL BE FORCED TO ADOPT WILL PROVOKE LABOR UNREST AND PERHAPS TIP THE POLITICAL BALANCE BACK IN FAVOR OF THE COMMUNISTS. A VERY TIGHT FOREIGN EXCHANGE SITUATION THREATENS TO BRING THINGS TO A HEAD EARLY NEXT YEAR, WHEN RESERVES ARE EXPECTED TO RUN OUT.4

BEFORE THE NOVEMBER 25 UPRISING, THE COMMUNISTS-WITH MINIMUM REPRESENTATION IN THE GOVERNMENT-MANAGED TO PARALYZE THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE EFFECTIVE USE OF WORKERS. ON ONE OCCASION, COMMUNIST-LED CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BESIEGED PRIME MINISTER AZEVEDO'S RESIDENCE AND FORCED HIM TO RETREAT ON WAGE CONSTRAINTS. THE COMMUNISTS ARE OBVIOUSLY HOPING FOR A REPLAY.4

2 A NEW CONSTITUTION IS BEING DRAFTED BY THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, IN WHICH NON-COMMUNISTS HAVE THE MAJORITY. DRAFT ARTICLES APPROVED

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BY THE ASSEMBLY IN OCTOBER PROVIDE FOR THE FREE FORMATION OF
 LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AT ALL LEVELS AND THE RIGHT TO AFFILIATE WITH
 INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.4

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY HAS ALSO SANCTIONED ANOTHER TYPE OF
 LABOR ORGANIZATION-THE WORKERS' COMMISSION-AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO
 COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED UNIONS. COMMISSIONS WOULD SERVE A LIAISON
 FUNCTION FOR MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNMENT, WITH THE UNIONS RETAINING
 RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS. THE COMMISSIONS WOULD
 REPRESENT THE WORKERS OF AN ENTIRE COMPANY, WHEREAS THE SAME
 COMPANY MIGHT HAS AS MANY AS 30 TO 40 SEPARATE UNIONS. {CONFID-
 ENTIAL}4

4. ROMANIA: PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S SPEECH TO THE ROMANIAN
 PARLIAMENT LAST THURSDAY WAS HIS MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY
 STATEMENT SINCE THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS LAST YEAR. BOTH
 4THE TIMING AND CONTENT OF THE SPEECH, WHICH FOLLOWED THE WARSAW
 EPACT FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IN MOSCOW, WERE CLEARLY INTENDED
 2TO DISPEL ANY IMPRESSION THAT BUCHAREST HAS MODIFIED ITS INDEPENDENT
 1POLICIES. THE SPEECH REFLECTED CEAUSESCU'S INTENTION TO CONTINUE

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SLANTING ROMANIAN POLICY AND IDEOLOGY TOWARD THE THIRD WORLD.

INDEED, CEAUSESCU'S RARE USE OF A PARLIAMEN-
 TARY, RATHER THAN PARTY FORUM FOR THE SPEECH MAY
 HAVE BEEN A SUBTLE WAY OF TRYING TO IDENTIFY MORE
 CLOSELY WITH THE NONALIGNED WORLD. HE MAY ALSO
 HAVE BELIEVED THAT A REVIEW OF FOREIGN POLICY BE-
 FORE PARLIAMENT WOULD BE MORE CONSISTENT WITH THE
 HELSINKI GUIDELINES.

ALTHOUGH CEAUSESCU'S SPEECH CONVEYED AN AIR
 OF CONFIDENCE AND DETERMINATION, HE DID NOT BREAK
 NEW GROUND. NEITHER DID HE PROVIDE MUCH SOLACE TO
 THE SOVIETS. FOR EXAMPLE, HE REITERATED BUCHAREST'S
 INSISTENCE THAT PARTY RELATIONS AVOID "DEAD DOGMAS"
 OR A "DIRECTING CENTER" FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COM-
 MUNIST MOVEMENT. HE URGED RESPECT FOR THE DIVER-
 SITY OF ALL PARTIES AS WELL AS THE RIGHT OF EACH
 PARTY TO SET ITS OWN LINE, SINGLING OUT FOR PRAISE
 "CERTAIN WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES" THAT HAVE

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SOUGHT NEW FORMS TO DEAL WITH CHANGED CONDITIONS.
 ON THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES,
 CEAUSESCU STRESSED THE NEED FOR A "DEMOCRATIC MEET-
 ING" WITH OPEN DEBATE, FREE EXCHANGES OF IDEAS IN
 A SPIRIT OF MUTUAL RESPECT, AND NO BINDING DOCU-
 MENTS.4

CEAUSESCU NONETHELESS BLANDLY REASSURED MOSCOW
 OF ROMANIA'S LOYALTY TO CEMA AND THE WARSAW PACT.
 HE ASSERTED THAT ROMANIA WOULD CONTINUE TO COOPERATE
 WITH THE ARMIES OF ITS ALLIES EVEN AFTER THE DISSO-
 LUTION OF MILITARY BLOCs. WITH AN EYE ON THE YUGO-
 SLAVS AND CHINESE, HOWEVER, HE ALSO STRESSED THAT
 ROMANIA WILL COLLABORATE WITH THE ARMIES OF NON-
 PACT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.4

4 AS FOR CEMA, CEAUSESCU GAVE EQUAL WEIGHT TO
 3 BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC TIES. HE CAL-
 2 LED FOR A REDUCTION IN THE DEVELOPMENT GAP BETWEEN
 1 CEMA MEMBER STATES AND, IN AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO

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CHINA AND YUGOSLAVIA, POINTED OUT THAT ROMANIA DOES CONSIDERABLE BUSINESS WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OUTSIDE CEMA.4

CEAUSESCU STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE PROPOSAL OF GREEK PREMIER CARAMANLIS FOR EXPANDED COOPERATION IN THE BALKANS. FURTHERMORE, HE DENIED THAT BALKAN COOPERATION WAS "DIRECTED AGAINST ANYONE", I.E.

MOSCOW.4

IN AN UNPRECEDENTED CRITICISM OF THE UN, CEAU-
 Sescu IMPLICITLY TOOK ISSUE WITH THE GENERAL ASSEM-
 BLY RESOLUTION DENOUNC' G ZIONISM BY SAYING THAT
 SOME UNJUST DECISIONS AND MEASURES HAD BEEN ADOPTED
 THAT CONTRADICT THE SPIRIT OF THE UN CHARTER. HE
 FAVORED SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED NATIONS GAINING A
 4 GREATER VOICE IN THE UN AND A REVISION OF THE CHAR-
 3 TER THAT WOULD REFLECT THE CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL
 2 LIFE OVER THE LAST 30 YEARS. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 198-75.4

1.//ECUADOR: ECUADOR'S PRESIDENT ARRESTS ARMY CHIEF

ECUADOREAN PRESIDENT RODRIGUEZ LARA REPORTEDLY HAS PLACED HIS ARMY COMMANDER UNDER HOUSE ARREST FOR PLOTTING AGAINST HIM.

THE GOVERNMENT IS INVESTIGATING TO DETERMINE WHO ELSE IS INVOLVED, AND FURTHER ARRESTS MAY BE PLANNED.//

//RODRIGUEZ IS SAID TO HAVE RECEIVED THE RESIGNATIONS OF ALL HIS MINISTERS ON DECEMBER 24, AND SOME POSTS MAY CHANGE HANDS AS HE SEEKS TO ENSURE THE LOYALTY OF KEY OFFICIALS.//

//DESPITE THESE MOVES, RODRIGUEZ'S ABILITY TO REMAIN IN OFFICE REMAINS QUESTIONABLE. HE DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE THREATENED IMMEDIATELY, BUT [REDACTED] THAT OTHER 25X1C CONSPIRATORS WITHIN THE MILITARY CONTINUE TO MANEUVER AGAINST THE PRESIDENT. [REDACTED] {SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM}//

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2. //ARGENTINA: PRESIDENT PERON'S POSITION CONTINUES TO
DETERIORATE, DESPITE HER GOVERNMENT'S SIGNIFICANT ANTI-GUERRILLA
VICTORY.//

//PRESSURE ON THE ARMED FORCES TO INTERVENE IS GROWING,
NOTWITHSTANDING THE CONVICTION OF TOP MILITARY LEADERS THAT
THE TIME IS NOT YET RIPE. THE ARMY COMMANDER, GENERAL JORGE
VIDELA, AND HIS COLLEAGUES HAVE NO CLEAR SOLUTION TO ARGENTINA'S
PROBLEMS, AND THEY APPARENTLY FEAR THAT A NEW ERA OF MILITARY
RULE COULD BE AS UNSUCCESSFUL AS EARLIER EXPERIMENTS. NEVERTHELESS,
HARDLINERS WITHIN THE MILITARY WHO SEE A DIRECT TAKE-OVER AS THE
ONLY WAY TO AVOID CONTINUING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHAOS ARE
BOUND TO BE ENCOURAGED BY THE EROSION OF POPULAR SUPPORT FOR
THE PERONISTS AND THE APPARENT LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY
OF CIVILIAN POLITICIANS TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO THE COUNTRY'S
PROBLEMS.//

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//VIDELA REFLECTED ARMED FORCES DISSATISFACTION WITH
 THE PRESIDENT IN A CHRISTMAS EVE SPEECH IN WHICH HE ISSUED A
 SHARP WARNING TO HER GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THAT ANGER WITHIN THE
 SERVICES COULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO MISGOVERNMENT, ■CORRUPTION, AND
 A LACK OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. THE ARMY CHIEF TOOK ANOTHER
 SWIPE AT PERON BY SENDING A TELEGRAM TO ONE OF HER BITTER
 ENEMIES—THE PERONIST GOVERNOR OF BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE—
 CONGRATULATING HIM FOR HELPING TO CRUSH TUESDAY NIGHT'S GUERRILLA
 ATTACKS. THE GOVERNOR, WHO HAS BEEN MENTIONED AS A POSSIBLE
 SUCCESSOR TO PERON, WAS RECENTLY OUSTED FROM THE PERONIST PARTY
 FOR ADVOCATING HER REMOVAL. ■■//

//CONGRESSIONAL DEMANDS FOR A CHANGE IN THE EXECUTIVE BY
 CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS ARE CERTAIN TO BE STEPPED UP IN THE WEEKS
 AHEAD. LEGISLATORS INTRODUCED A MOTION YESTERDAY CALLING FOR
 PERON'S IMPEACHMENT. THE LIKELIHOOD FO A CIVILIAN POLITICAL
 SOLUTION IS DWINDLING, HOWEVER. UNLESS THE POLITICIANS ACT

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SOON, THE PROSPECT WILL INCREASE FOR ■YET ANOTHER MILITARY
ATTEMPT TO FORCE PERON FROM OFFICE. {SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM}//
E-2IMPDET.H

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 198-75.4

1. LEBANON: THE HOLIDAY LULL IN FIGHTING CONTINUED INTO THE WEEKEND, IN PART BECAUSE OF FREEZING RAINS AND GALE-FORCE WINDS. 4

SNIPING AND OCCASIONAL HEAVY EXCHANGES OF FIRE CONTINUED TO MAKE THE STREETS OF BEIRUT UNSAFE, BUT TRIPOLI AND ZAHLAH, WHERE HEAVY FIGHTING TOOK PLACE EARLY LAST WEEK, WERE QUIET.

BEIRUT RADIO ANNOUNCED ON SATURDAY THAT PRIME MINISTER KARAMI'S SUPREME COORDINATION COMMITTEE, WHICH INCLUDES REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS WARRING FACTIONS AS WELL AS LEBANESE SECURITY OFFICIALS, HAD AGREED ON A TIMETABLE FOR ENFORCING THE CURRENT CEASE-FIRE OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS. THE LEBANESE NEWS MEDIA ALSO CONTINUED THEIR SPECULATION THAT A POLITICAL SOLUTION, APPROVED BY SYRIA, WAS NEAR AND WOULD GRANT AT LEAST SOME OF THE DEMANDS OF THE MUSLIM FORCES FOR REFORMS IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SYSTEM, WHICH FAVORS THE CHRISTIANS.

2 THERE IS NO INDICATION AS YET THAT THE LATEST AGREEMENT
1 WILL BE ANY MORE EFFECTIVE THAN THE OTHER CEASE-FIRES WORKED

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OUT OVER THE PAST EIGHT MONTHS. THE MOST SOME OBSERVERS ARE
HOPING FOR IS THE CUSTOMARY END-OF-MONTH "PAY TRUCE,"
ALLOWING PEOPLE TIME TO COLLECT THEIR MONTHLY PAY CHECKS AND
STOCK UP ON FOOD. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2, IMPDET.H

~~SDO~~_____ ~~DDDDO~~_____

25X1A

DATE: DECEMBER 29, 1975
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EAST ASIA BRIEF 198-75.4

1. CHINA-USSR: AMICABLE CHINESE HANDLING OF THE RELEASE ON SATURDAY OF THREE SOVIET HELICOPTER CREWMEN IS STARTING, GIVEN THE HITHERTO SOUR STATE OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND THE BITTERNESS THE HELICOPTER INCIDENT INITIALLY CAUSED ON BOTH SIDES. THE GESTURE IS THE MOST CONCILIATORY MOVE PEKING HAS MADE TOWARD MOSCOW SINCE PREMIER KOSYGIN WAS BRIEFLY INVITED TO CHINA IN 1969.4

THE SOVIET CREWMEN HAD BEEN HELD INCOMMUNICADO SINCE THE HELICOPTER WENT DOWN IN NORTHWESTERN CHINA NEAR THE SOVIET BORDER IN MARCH 1974. SATURDAY'S ANNOUNCEMENT STATED THAT CHINESE INVESTIGATORS HAD CONCLUDED THAT THE BORDER INTRUSION HAD BEEN UNINTENTIONAL. PEKING HAD INITIALLY CHARGED THAT THE SOVIET CREW WAS ENGAGED IN AN ESPIONAGE MISSION.4

DESPITE SOVIET EFFORTS TO GAIN THE CREW'S RELEASE THROUGH 4 DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE, PROPAGANDA, AND THREATS TO RETALIATE, THE 3 CHINESE MAINTAINED A STONY SILENCE IN PUBLIC, WHILE INSPIRING 2 DIPLOMATIC RUMORS THAT THE CREWMEN WOULD BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL. THE 1 DESCRIPTION IN SATURDAY'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE HELICOPTER AS AN

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"ARMED RECONNAISSANCE" MODEL MAY HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO JUSTIFY THEIR LENGTHY DETENTION.4

IN AN ESPECIALLY TELLING GESTURE, A SENIOR CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL GAVE A DINNER FOR THE SOVIET AIRMEN BEFORE THEIR RELEASE. PEKING HAD NEVER BEFORE ACCORDED SUCH TREATMENT TO FOREIGN NATIONALS WHO HAD BEEN DETAINED FOR ANY REASON. THIS APPEARS TO BE AN IMPORTANT SYMBOLIC ACT, BUT THE REASONS FOR ITS TIMING ARE NOT YET CLEAR. THE LONG CHINESE PUBLIC SILENCE ON THE HELICOPTER AFFAIR SUGGESTS THAT HANDLING OF THE MATTER MAY HAVE BEEN A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE WHICH ONLY NOW HAS BEEN RESOLVED.4

THERE HAVE BEEN HINTS FOR NEARLY TWO YEARS THAT SOME FAIRLY IMPORTANT CHINESE LEADERS MAY HAVE BEEN ARGUING IN FAVOR OF A LESS ABRASIVE POLICY TOWARD MOSCOW, PRESUMABLY ON THE GROUNDS THAT CHINA'S CURRENT APPROACH IS TOO DANGEROUS. THERE HAVE BEEN NO RECENT SIGNS, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH A DEBATE HAS COME TO A HEAD, AND IN FACT EXCHANGES BETWEEN PEKING AND MOSCOW IN THE PAST SIX OR EIGHT MONTHS HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY SHARP.4

//IN THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS THE CHINESE HAVE ALSO INDICATED

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THEIR CONCERN THAT THE US HAS NOT BEEN PROPERLY STANDING UP TO THE SOVIETS. THE IMPLICATION IS THAT PUTATIVE US PASSIVITY LEAVES THE CHINESE INCREASINGLY EXPOSED. RECENT ACTION ON ANGOLA BY THE US SENATE UNDOUBTEDLY HAS FURTHER HEIGHTENED CHINA'S CONCERN ON THIS MATTER. IN ADDITION, PEKING'S RELEASE OF THE AIRMEN MAY BE INTENDED AS A SIGNAL TO THE US THAT SINO-US RAPPROCHEMENT DOES NOT INDEFINITELY PRECLUDE SOME IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS; THE CHINESE MAY BE PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS TO MAKE THIS POINT AT A TIME WHEN THEY PERCEIVE THAT THEIR ATTACKS ON DETENTE AND SALT SEEM TO BE HAVING LITTLE OR NO EFFECT ON WASHINGTON.//4

//AT A MINIMUM THE CHINESE PROBABLY ALSO HOPE TO COMPLICATE SOVIET EFFORTS TO USE THE ANTI-CHINA THEME IN CONNECTION WITH MOSCOW'S EFFORTS TO CONVENE AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE IN 1976. THEY MAY ALSO HOPE TO COMPLICATE SECRETARY KISSINGER'S

4 DIALOGUE WITH MOSCOW.//4

3 THE RELEASE OF THE HELICOPTER CREW REMOVES AN IMPORTANT IRRITANT
 2 IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, BUT A HOST OF OTHERS REMAIN. A SENIOR
 1 SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL PUBLICLY REVEALED TWO WEEKS AGO,

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FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE CHINESE HOLD THREE OTHER CITIZENS WHO HE CLAIM-
 ED HAD STRAYED ACROSS THE BORDER. CHINESE PROPAGANDA, MOREOVER,
 IMMEDIATELY BEFORE AND AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RELEASE, HAS
 CONTINUED TO ATTACK THE USSR'S "ARCHCRIMINAL" ACTIVITIES IN ANGOLA
 AND "EXPANSIONIST" FOREIGN POLICY. 4

MOSCOW, WHICH FROM THE BEGINNING HAS MAINTAINED THAT THE MARCH
 1974 BORDER VIOLATION WAS UNINTENTIONAL, HAS MERELY ISSUED A TASS
 ANNOUNCEMENT ■REPORTING THE RELEASE OF THE "ILLEGALLY DETAINED"
 CREWMEN. ACCORDING TO ANOTHER PRESS REPORT, THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR
 IN PEKING DESCRIBED THE CHINESE ACTION AS A "COMPLETE MYSTERY."
 THE SOVIETS UNDOUBTEDLY CALCULATE THAT AS LONG AS HE LIVES, CHAIRMAN
 MAO IS UNLIKELY TO ACQUIESCE FOR LONG IN ANY CHINESE MOVE TO
 SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER TENSIONS WITH MOSCOW. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2IMPDET. H

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